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Supreme Court of the United States

ABIGAIL NOEL FISHER,

Petitioner,

v.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN, ET AL.,

Respondents.

On Writ Of Certiorari To The United States Court Of Appeals For The Fifth Circuit

BRIEF OF SOCIAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL PSYCHOLOGISTS AS *AMICI CURIAE* SUPPORTING RESPONDENTS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

INTEREST OF *AMICI CURIAE* 1

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT 1

ARGUMENT 4

I. THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS'S HOLISTIC ADMISSIONS POLICY IS NARROWLY TAILORED AND NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE ITS DIVERSITY INTEREST 4

A. UT's Holistic Admissions Policy Is Necessary to Achieve UT's Compelling Interest in a Richly Diverse Student Body 5

1. Demographics Have Changed in Texas and at UT 6

2. The TTPP Overlays and Channels Underlying Patterns of Racial Segregation in Order to Generate Student Body Diversity 8

3. UT's Holistic Admissions Policy Enables Admissions Consideration for Students That Would Otherwise Not Receive Consideration Under the TTPP or Traditional Measures of Merit 11

4. Race Should Be Considered Within Holistic Admissions Because the Convergence of Multiple Factors Inextricably Linked to Race Inhibits Educational Opportunity 13

TABLE OF CONTENTS – Continued

Page

B. UT's Policy Is Narrowly Tailored Because It Focuses on Individualized Review 18

1. The Holistic Plan Is Not About Quotas, Percentages or Target Numbers But Focuses on Individuals, an Opportunity Denied by the TTPP 20

II. UT'S HOLISTIC ADMISSIONS POLICY IS NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE THE BENEFITS OF MEANINGFUL CLASSROOM DIVERSITY 22

A. Recent Social Science Studies Have Deepened Our Understanding of Diversity's Benefits 22

1. Diversity Helps All Students by Reducing Anxieties That May Result From Interracial Interactions 22

2. Diversity Reduces Prejudice and Bias 25

3. Diversity Reduces the Racial Isolation or Solo Status of Underrepresented Students and Reduces the Effects of Stereotype Threat 30

TABLE OF CONTENTS – Continued

Page

B. Diverse Educational Environments Promote Better Problem-Solving and Academic Performance and Better Prepare Students to Navigate an Increasingly Diverse Society, Workforce, and Civic Life 34

1. Diversity Promotes Better Problem-Solving and Academic Performance..... 34

2. Diversity Better Prepares Students for Life After College 37

3. Success in Modern Professional Society Demands Cross-Cultural Competence and the Ability to View Problems From Multiple Perspectives – Skills Best Learned in Diverse Academic Environments..... 38

4. Experiences With Diversity in Higher Learning Environments Are Positively Associated With Greater Democracy Outcomes in Students and Continued Civic Engagement After Graduation..... 41

TABLE OF CONTENTS – Continued

Page

5. Institutions of Higher Learning Are Ideally Equipped to Provide the Exposure to Diversity, Development of Cross-Cultural Competence, and Critical Thinking Skills That Graduates Need to Thrive Professionally and Participate in a Plural Democracy 42

CONCLUSION 44

APPENDIX

Table 1 – Texas Population Trends, 1990-2010 ..... App. 1

Table 2 – Texas Population Trends, 1990-2010 (Under 18 Years of Age) ..... App. 2

Table 3 – UT Enrollment by Race, 1997-2014 ..... App. 3

Figure 1 – Demographic Change at UT and in Texas, 1990-2014 ..... App. 4

Figure 2 – School District Level Enrollment by Race, Texas ..... App. 5

Table 4 – UT TTPP Enrollment by Race, 1997-2014 ..... App. 6

Table 5 – UT Holistic Admissions by Race, 2003-2014 ..... App. 7

List of *Amici Curiae* ..... App. 8

TABLE OF AUTHORITIES

Page

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INTEREST OF *AMICI CURIAE*

Amici curiae are social and organizational psychologists who study the effects of segregation and racial isolation, intergroup contact and the physiological and/or psychological effects of a diverse environment.[1] Amici are college and university faculty who have published numerous books and peer-reviewed articles on topics such as the influence of diversity in higher education, inclusion, inter- and intra-group interactions, and racial isolation. Amici, listed in the Appendix ("App."),[2] file this brief to acquaint the Court with current social science research and its consequences for the constitutionality of race-conscious admissions policies.

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

Since this case was last before the Court, social science research has continued to deepen our understanding of why diversity is even more crucial to academic achievement and civic engagement. Pursuing higher education at an institution like the

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[1] Petitioner and Respondents have consented to the filing of this brief in letters on file in the Clerk's office. No counsel for Petitioner or Respondents authored this brief in whole or in part, and no counsel or party made a monetary contribution intended to fund the preparation or submission of this brief. No person other than amici curiae and their counsel made a monetary contribution to its preparation or submission.

[2] App. 8.

University of Texas ("UT") that purposefully seeks to admit a richly diverse student body presents students with the opportunity to learn and live with students with different backgrounds and experiences. The resulting diversity provides all students with a range of important benefits, both in college and later as adult members of society.

This Court has previously acknowledged the benefits of racial diversity in the university setting. Social science research demonstrates these benefits, including reducing anxiety that may result from interracial interactions, promoting better problem-solving and academic performance, reducing prejudice and bias, reducing the racial isolation of underrepresented students, and reducing stereotype threat. Racially diverse educational environments also better prepare students to navigate an increasingly diverse professional society, workforce, and civic life.

UT employs a hybrid approach to achieve the benefits of diversity, including racial diversity. Its Top Ten Percent Plan ("TTPP"), on its face race-neutral, uses the existing reality of high school segregation to enroll a student body that is more racially diverse than before the TTPP was implemented. UT utilizes a holistic admissions policy to fill the remaining spots in its class, which relies upon an individualized review of applicants to select an incoming class that will enable each of its members to enrich and be enriched by students of diverse backgrounds. The

policy is narrowly tailored and necessary to meet UT's mission of true and meaningful diversity.

Without holistic review including race, Black and Latino students who do not rank in the top ten percent at their schools will be disproportionately disadvantaged. This disproportionality results from the uneven distribution of educational opportunity across the state of Texas and the United States. A Black or Latino student who attends a hyper- or highly-segregated high school faces complex and compounded disadvantages resulting from the interaction of race with economic segregation and isolation. Considering race within a broader holistic admissions process permits UT to account for this interaction in a manner that also respects the right of each applicant to have her past achievements and future potential evaluated individually.

UT's hybrid approach, including its individualized review of applicants' entire files as required under *Bakke* and *Grutter*, accounts for how race may have disadvantaged some applicants and ensures that UT is able to cultivate an environment in which every student can thrive as a result of increased diversity. UT's goal is not quantitative, but qualitative. Its approach is narrowly tailored to achieve a diversity that is richer because it has taken account of the racial and socioeconomic realities its students have faced and will face in the future. Moreover, it is necessary because without the ability to consider race among a host of other factors, the educational

experience of all students on campus will be diminished.

ARGUMENT

I. The University of Texas's Holistic Admissions Policy is Narrowly Tailored and Necessary to Achieve Its Diversity Interest

The use of race in higher education admissions is constitutional where the means chosen are "narrowly tailored" and "necessary to further a compelling governmental interest."[3] UT's carefully crafted holistic admissions policy is both.

The holistic policy, including its consideration of race, is necessary to achieve UT's constitutionally permissible interest in student body diversity. The TTPP increases enrollment of underrepresented groups by channeling existing patterns of interdistrict segregation throughout Texas that create unequal educational opportunities and exclude disproportionate numbers of Black and Latino students from meaningful consideration for admission. The TTPP is a mechanical and inflexible plan that only considers one of a broad range of indicators that predict student performance and contribute to UT's educational mission; it does not allow for the consideration of members from underrepresented student

[3] *Grutter v. Bollinger*, 539 U.S. 306, 326-27 (2003).

groups who do not automatically qualify for admission based on class rank. Only when combining the holistic race-conscious admissions policy with the TTPP can UT fulfill its critical goals of ensuring that its student body is richly diverse and that the individualized characteristics of each student are considered in the admissions process. UT's holistic admissions policy is narrowly tailored to achieve its compelling interest in diversity.

A. UT's Holistic Admissions Policy Is Necessary to Achieve UT's Compelling Interest in a Richly Diverse Student Body

UT's holistic admissions policy is necessary to overcome the limitations of the TTPP and thereby achieve its constitutionally recognized interest in student body diversity. By design, the TTPP channels patterns of persistent residential and inter-district segregation to generate student body diversity at UT. The holistic admissions policy enables UT to consider for admission students who would not be considered under the TTPP or traditional measures of merit. Race should be considered within holistic admissions because the convergence of multiple factors linked to race inhibits the educational opportunities of applicants who nonetheless have much to offer.

1. Demographics Have Changed in Texas and at UT.

Population and enrollment demographics in the State of Texas and at UT have changed dramatically over the last 25 years. Texas has experienced rapid population growth, with even faster growth among particular racial sub-groups. From 1990 to 2010, Texas grew from nearly 17 million to 26 million people.[4] In that time, the White non-Hispanic population grew from 10 million to 11 million; the Hispanic population grew from 4 million to nearly 9.5 million; the Black population grew from 2 million to nearly 3 million; and the Asian population grew from nearly a third of a million to nearly a million.[5] Consequently, the overall composition of the Texas population has changed from roughly 60.6% White, 25.6% Hispanic, 11.9% Black, and 1.9% Asian to 45.3% White, 37.6% Hispanic, 11.9% Black, and 3.8% Asian.[6]

These demographic shifts are even more evident among the school-age population than the population as a whole. From 1990 to 2010, school-age population in Texas rose from 4.8 million to nearly 7 million people.[7] During that period of growth, the composition of the Texas school-age population dramatically shifted from roughly 50.9% White, 33.5% Hispanic,

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[4] App. 1, Table 1.

[5] *Id.*

[6] *Id.*

[7] App. 2, Table 2.

13.6% Black, and 2.0% Asian to 33.8% White, 48.3% Hispanic, 12.5% Black, and 3.5% Asian.[8]

Against this demographic backdrop, UT has taken seriously its mission to serve Texas's citizens and provide education to its populace.[9] Relying on *Grutter*, UT supplemented the TTPP with a holistic analysis that permits consideration of an applicant's race as one factor among many.[10] Together, the TTPP and UT's holistic approach have had their intended effect.

Table 3 displays the demographic enrollment at UT from 1991 to 2014 by racial/ethnic group.[11] Figure 1 illustrates student enrollment trendlines against the backdrop of demographic changes in the state population as a whole.[12] Enrollment has moved in the same direction as group representation within the state. Although Whites have grown in absolute terms, their proportion of the Texas population has gradually declined, and the proportion of enrollment reflects this decline (from 67.5% in 1991 to 45% in 2014), while Hispanic enrollment has risen to 21% in 2014 from 16% in 1991.

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[8] *Id.*

[9] The University of Texas at Austin, Mission and Values, https://www.utexas.edu/about/mission-and-values (last visited Oct. 27, 2015).

[10] *See Grutter*, 539 U.S. at 327-37; *id.* at 393 (Kennedy, J., dissenting).

[11] App. 3, Table 3.

[12] App. 4, Figure 1.

2. The TTPP Overlays and Channels Underlying Patterns of Racial Segregation in Order to Generate Student Body Diversity.

The TTPP's contribution to generating student-body diversity is a consequence of entrenched and widespread inter-district racial segregation. Racial segregation in Texas, as in the nation as a whole, remains stark and persistent more than 45 years after passage of the Fair Housing Act. As this Court recently noted, "[d]ue to a variety of factors – some influenced by government, some not – neighborhoods in our communities do not reflect the diversity of our Nation as a whole."[13] In most major metropolitan regions in the United States, residential racial segregation is not only pronounced, but severe. The racial segregation of major urban areas and their schools has in many cases intensified and deepened.[14] One measure of segregation commonly employed by social scientists is the dissimilarity index, which measures how various racial groups are spread across

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[13] *Parents Involved in Cmty. Sch. v. Seattle Sch. Dist. No. 1*, 551 U.S. 701, 798 (2007) (Kennedy, J., concurring); *see also Tex. Dep't of Hous. & Cmty. Affairs v. Inclusive Cmtys. Project, Inc.*, 135 S. Ct. 2507, 2525 (2015) ("Much progress remains to be made in our Nation's continuing struggle against racial isolation.").

[14] Gary Orfield et al., *Brown at 60: Great Progress, a Long Retreat and an Uncertain Future*, at 10 (May 15, 2014), http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/brown-at-60-great-progress-a-long-retreat-and-an-uncertain-future/Brown-at-60-051814.pdf.

neighborhoods within metropolitan areas. A score of 100 indicates that every neighborhood has residents of only one particular group ("complete segregation"), whereas a score of zero indicates proportional representation of each group throughout the metropolitan region ("complete integration"). Nationally, the average metropolitan region had a Black-White dissimilarity score index of 59 in 2010, widely considered a high level of segregation.[15] This segregation shapes the lived experiences of our citizens. As of 2010, the average White resident of a metropolitan area resides in a neighborhood that is 75.4% White, 7.9% Black, 10.5% Hispanic, and 5.1% Asian. In contrast, a typical Black resident lives in a neighborhood that is 34.8% White, 45.2% Black, 14.8% Hispanic, and 4.3% Asian.[16]

These measures of segregation may mask the persistence of racial isolation and concentration on account of growing multi-racial diversity. According to 2006-2009 Census estimates, 75% of Black families nationwide reside in just 16% of census tracts, and 30% of Blacks live in census block groups that are 75% or more Black.[17]

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[15] John R. Logan & Brian J. Stults, *The Persistence of Segregation in the Metropolis: New Findings from the 2010 Census*, at 4 (Mar. 24, 2011), http://www.s4.brown.edu/us2010/Data/Report/report2.pdf.

[16] *Id.* at 23.

[17] Craig Gurian, *Mapping and Analysis of New Data Documents Still-Segregated America*, Remapping Debate, Jan.

(Continued on following page)

As Figure 2 illustrates, these national patterns of segregation and racial isolation are visible across Texas. Despite the fact that Texas has no racial or ethnic majority (non-Hispanic Whites constitute 44% of the population), only 13% of the 1,024 school districts in the state have no racial majority.[18] Nearly 40% of those districts have a racial/ethnic supermajority, meaning that more than 75% of the students are members of the majority race of that district.

The TTPP relies on this fact to generate some degree of student body diversity by channeling these student populations into the freshman class. Before the TTPP, 59 out of 1,500 high schools in the state accounted for about half of UT's freshman class, with only 674 schools sending their students to UT.[19] By 2007, more than 900 high schools had students matriculating to UT.[20] As a consequence of school-district hypersegregation, the top ten percent of students from these more than 900 high schools exhibited some measure of diversity.

18, 2011, http://www.remappingdebate.org/map-data-tool/mapping-and-analysis-new-data-documents-still-segregated-america.

[18] App. 5, Figure 2.

[19] Sheryll Cashin, Place, Not Race: A New Vision of Opportunity in America 90 (Beacon Press 2014).

[20] *Id.*

3. UT's Holistic Admissions Policy Enables Admissions Consideration for Students That Would Otherwise Not Receive Consideration Under the TTPP or Traditional Measures of Merit.

The TTPP was enacted to generate some degree of student body diversity as measured by demographic enrollment alone and it has done so.[21] Table 4 indicates both the numbers of students enrolled by racial group through the TTPP as well as their percentage of representation.[22]

In 2014, 7,280 students enrolled in UT as part of the incoming class. Of that class, 3,268 (44.89%) were White, 1,752 (24.07%) were Asian, 1,565 (21.50%) were Hispanic, 306 (4.2%) were Black, and 389 (5.34%) identified as "other." Of these students, roughly 66.68% were admitted through the TTPP, with the remainder admitted through the holistic admissions policy. Data analysis illustrates the contribution of the holistic admissions plan to additional student body diversity. Table 5 indicates the demographics of enrollment through holistic admissions.[23] Of the 306 Black students enrolled in 2014, 212 were admitted through the TTPP, with 94 admitted through the

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[21] J. Phillip Thompson & Sarah Tobias, *The Texas Ten Percent Plan*, 43 Am. Behav. Scientist 1121, 1126 (2000).

[22] App. 6, Table 4.

[23] App. 7, Table 5.

holistic admissions policy. This means that roughly 30% of the Black students admitted to UT were admitted through the holistic admissions plan. Similarly, 291 Hispanics and 482 Asians were admitted through the holistic admissions plan.[24]

It is unlikely that this degree of diversity would have been produced by solely considering test scores or class rank. The holistic admissions policy examines a much broader range of qualifications, experiences, and considerations than the TTPP. Students of all races who fall below the class rank needed to qualify for automatic admissions to UT in many districts in Texas are otherwise unlikely to be considered for admissions without a broader and more holistic review. Falling outside of the top ten percent would effectively deny those students any chance to be considered.

This is because varying local conditions, including teacher quality, teacher experience, per-pupil expenditures, local tax base capacity, school poverty rates, extracurricular activities, textbooks and classroom technology, neighborhood conditions, average parental educational levels, and amenities such as proximity or access to libraries and other educational supports, can vastly inhibit or enhance student performance.[25] Research demonstrates that these

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[24] *Id.*

[25] *See* Linda Darling-Hammond, *The Color Line in American Education: Race, Resources, and Student Achievement*, 1 Du

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varying factors each correlate with educational outcomes, and when clustered together they have a tremendous influence on educational achievement.[26] These local conditions vary dramatically across Texas and generate unequal educational opportunities. Consequently, students from districts that are most disadvantaged along these measures would be unlikely to be considered for admissions without a holistic admissions system.

4. Race Should Be Considered Within Holistic Admissions Because the Convergence of Multiple Factors Inextricably Linked to Race Inhibits Educational Opportunity.

In *Brown*, this Court concluded that "it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity to an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms."[27] Education is important for economic opportunity, civic participation, and democratic engagement. The Court's decisions in *Brown* and *Grutter* recognized the role education serves for both individuals and society as a

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Bois Rev. 213 (2004); Jonathan Kozol, *Still Separate, Still Unequal: America's Educational Apartheid*, 311 Harper's Mag. 41 (2005).

[26] Darling-Hammond, *supra* note 25, at 214.

[27] *Brown v. Bd. of Educ.*, 347 U.S. 483, 493 (1954).

whole; accordingly, education must be provided under conditions of equality.[28]

Standing against this aspiration is the reality that educational opportunity remains uneven across our nation and the state of Texas. This uneven educational opportunity is largely a result of the interaction of race and the aforementioned local conditions with economic segregation and isolation. Residing in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty and racial segregation has a direct effect on educational outcomes: it is equivalent to missing an entire year of school.[29] The interaction between racial segregation and income segregation results in the exclusion of disproportionate numbers of Black and Latino students from educational opportunities. One out of every six Black or Latino students attends a "hypersegregated school," in which the student population is 99-100% racially or ethnically homogenous.[30] Roughly two of every five Black or Latino students in

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[28] *See id.*; *Grutter*, 539 U.S. at 332 ("[U]niversities ... represent the training ground for a large number of our Nation's leaders."); *see also Parents Involved*, 551 U.S. at 797 (Kennedy, J., concurring) ("This Nation has a moral and ethical obligation to fulfill its historic commitment to creating an integrated society that ensures equal opportunity for all of its children.").

[29] *See* Robert J. Sampson et al., *Durable Effects of Concentrated Disadvantage on Verbal Ability Among African-American Children*, 105 Proc. Nat'l Acad. Sci. 845, 845-52 (2008).

[30] Erica Frankenberg et al., *A Multiracial Society with Segregated Schools: Are We Losing the Dream?*, Harv. U. C.R. Project, Jan. 28, 2003, at 28.

the United States attend "intensely segregated schools," in which 90-100% of the student body is racially homogenous, up from one-third in 1988.[31] More than three quarters of these schools are high-poverty schools.[32] As of 2013, "a black poor person is more than three times as likely and a Hispanic poor person is more than twice as likely to reside in a neighborhood with a poverty rate of 40 percent or more than a white poor person."[33] The net effect of coming from a family living in generational poverty disproportionately impacts Black and Latino students in significant ways. Racially isolated Blacks and Latinos are disproportionately overrepresented across most determinative factors that inhibit access to educational opportunity.[34]

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[31] *Id.* at 31.

[32] Gary Orfield & Chungmei Lee, *Racial Transformation and the Changing Nature of Segregation*, Harv. U. C.R. Project, Jan. 2006, at 31.

[33] Paul A. Jargowsky, *The Architecture of Segregation: Civil Unrest, the Concentration of Poverty, and Public Policy*, at 6 (Aug. 9, 2015), http://www.tcf.org/assets/downloads/Jargowsky_ArchitectureofSegregation.pdf.

[34] *See* Marta Tienda & Sunny Xinchun Niu, *Capitalizing on Segregation, Pretending Neutrality: College Admissions and the Texas Top 10% Law*, 8 Am. L. & Econ. Rev. 312, 328 (2006) ("By definition, students who attend minority-dominated schools are mostly [B]lack and [Latino], . . . are usually poorer; [and] on average, their parents are less likely to have college degrees. . . ."); *see also* Elizabeth Anderson, The Imperative of Integration 2 (Princeton Univ. Press 2010) ("[Racial s]egregation . . . isolates disadvantaged groups from access to public and private resources, from sources of human and cultural capital,

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Research demonstrates that a broad range of complex variables such as socioeconomic status, parental education, school environment, residential stability, and geographic diversity disproportionately affect the educational opportunities available to Blacks and Latinos. All of these factors intersect with race. For example, one recent study found that the correlation between concentrated disadvantage and segregated Black neighborhoods in Chicago is .83, while the correlation between concentrated advantage and White neighborhoods is only .24.[35] In contrast, it is well-known that high levels of parental education correlate with higher test scores, higher grade point averages, and greater educational aspirations for their children.[36] Similarly, wealth is highly correlated with student performance and educational attainment.[37]

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and from the social networks that govern access to jobs, business connections, and political influence. It depresses their ability to accumulate wealth and gain access to credit.").

[35] Robert J. Sampson, Great American City 112-14 (The Univ. of Chi. Press 2012).

[36] J. R. Campbell et al., *Trends in Academic Progress: Three Decades of Student Performance*, Nat'l Ctr. for Educ. Stat., Aug. 2000, at 46-51.

[37] *See, e.g.*, Amy J. Orr, *Black-White Differences in Achievement: The Importance of Wealth*, 76 Am. Soc. Ass'n 281 (2003); College Board, 2009 College-Bound Seniors: Total Group Profile Report 1, 4 (2009) (illustrating that in 2009, the highest average score on the SAT was posted by students who reported their family income as greater than $200,000 annually); Anthony P. Carnevale & Stephen J. Rose, America's Untapped Resource:

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Given the number and complexity of variables that contribute to racial disadvantage, an admissions policy limited to race-neutral factors cannot capture their cumulative effect on educational opportunity. Considering race within a broader, holistic admissions policy therefore remains the only way to account for the uneven distribution of educational opportunities within and across school districts and generate a richly diverse student body at UT. Race is an essential factor in assessing an applicant's past academic conditions and experiences. UT simply cannot rely on the TTPP alone to accomplish its goal of meaningful diversity.

A holistic, race-conscious admissions policy is consistent with the Court's goal, as articulated in *Brown*, of ensuring educational opportunity and its guidance in *Grutter* explaining the need for individualized assessments to achieve this goal. UT's inclusion of race as one "special circumstance" within its holistic and individualized admissions process is necessary because certain populations in Texas disproportionately reside in racially isolated environments with less educational opportunity, which inhibits their ability to benefit from an admissions

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Low Income Students in Higher Education 106, 141 (Richard D. Kahlenberg ed., The Century Foundation 2004) (finding that 74% of students at the 146 most selective four-year colleges and universities in the U.S. came from the top socioeconomic status quarter of American families, versus 3% from the bottom quarter).

policy based solely on class rank. The uneven distribution of educational opportunities both within and across districts necessitates the consideration of qualities beyond class rank to improve the underrepresentation of certain groups and generate a richly diverse student body at UT. Consequently, the holistic admissions plan is necessary to achieve UT's compelling interest in promoting the benefits of diversity to UT, the broader community, and the state of Texas.

B. UT's Policy Is Narrowly Tailored Because It Focuses on Individualized Review

In describing "the hallmarks of a narrowly tailored [race-conscious admission] plan," this Court in *Grutter* observed that such plans require that "race be used in a flexible, nonmechanical way," and "that universities cannot establish quotas for members of certain racial groups or put members of those groups on separate admissions tracks" or "insulate applicants who belong to certain racial or ethnic groups from the competition for admission."[38] Stated simply, race-conscious admissions programs must consider applicants holistically and as individuals.[39] UT's admissions program comports with the Court's mandates.

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[38] 539 U.S. at 334.

[39] *Regents v. Bakke*, 438 U.S. 265, 317-18 (1978); *Grutter*, 539 U.S. at 309.

As permitted expressly by *Grutter*, UT seeks to attain a critical mass of underrepresented minority students on its campus through its admissions policies.[40] Employing the TTPP alone would leave UT with a fully-mechanized admissions system for in-state applicants that looks only at class rank. The holistic plan serves as a necessary complement to the TTPP by supplementing its mechanical methodology with an individualized and dynamic admissions assessment, as required under *Bakke* and *Grutter*.

In particular, the holistic plan incorporates and considers the contents of the applicant's *entire* file, "including demonstrated leadership qualities, extracurricular activities, honors and awards, essays, work experience, community service, and special circumstances, such as the applicant's socioeconomic status, family composition, special family responsibilities, the socioeconomic status of the applicant's high school, and race."[41] The nuanced, individualized review advanced by the holistic plan ensures that UT's race-conscious admissions process is applied in a "flexible, nonmechanical way" that comports with the Court's mandate.[42]

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[40] 539 U.S. at 336.

[41] *Fisher v. Univ. of Tex. at Austin*, 758 F.3d 633, 638 (5th Cir. 2014).

[42] *Grutter*, 539 U.S. at 334.

1. The Holistic Plan Is Not About Quotas, Percentages or Target Numbers But Focuses on Individuals, an Opportunity Denied by the TTPP.

UT's race-conscious holistic admissions program is an essential supplement to the TTPP and other race-neutral efforts. While this component of the admissions program is "modest" in its approach,[43] its impact is significant. UT's race-conscious holistic admissions process affords UT enhanced flexibility to admit students of *all* races who will contribute to rich diversity on campus and in the classroom, even if they were not ranked at the very top of their respective high school class. In particular, the race-conscious, individualized review process provides the opportunity to obtain the educational benefits of diversity both *within* and *among* underrepresented minority student communities. For example, the process allows for consideration of a student who may be just outside the top ten percent of his high school class, but who has demonstrated excellence or perseverance in other areas of life, which may predict his future success and value-add to a college class far more accurately than an exclusive focus on class rank. Having such a student at UT would provide the type of additional diversity of experience and viewpoint that the Court has acknowledged benefits all students.

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[43] *Id.* at 393.

While UT considers race, it gives race no more weight than socioeconomic background, work experience, community service or a number of other factors.[44] Under UT's holistic plan, race is not considered in isolation, but is simply part of UT's examination of each applicant as a whole person. There is no quota, target, or predetermined percentage of undergraduate enrollment that automatically produces these benefits; nor could there be, as this Court has directed repeatedly.[45] UT does not consider race as a "search for numbers but a search for students of unique talents and backgrounds who can enrich the diversity of the student body in distinct ways."[46]

A critical mass cannot be defined by simple numerical calculations alone. Rather, critical mass depends on the quality, as much as the quantity, of individual students' cross-racial interactions, as well as the context and community in which the particular university is situated. Precluding UT from utilizing nonmechanical, race-conscious methods to evaluate applicants admitted outside of the TTPP undermines UT's ability to cultivate a campus and classrooms composed of rich and varied forms of diversity. This rich diversity contributes significantly to all students' experience at UT and beyond.

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[44] *Fisher*, 758 F.3d at 638.

[45] *See Grutter*, 539 U.S. at 329-30, 334.

[46] *Fisher*, 758 F.3d at 653-54.

II. UT's Holistic Admissions Policy Is Necessary to Achieve the Benefits of Meaningful Classroom Diversity

A. Recent Social Science Studies Have Deepened Our Understanding of Diversity's Benefits

1. Diversity Helps All Students by Reducing Anxieties That May Result from Interracial Interactions.

Since *Grutter*, social scientists have expanded the breadth of research demonstrating the benefits of diversity. This research shows that initial interactions with members from identity groups different from one's own (*i.e.*, individuals from different racial, socioeconomic, or gender groups) can stimulate anxiety and distress. This initial anxiety manifests physiologically in cardiovascular reactivity, increased production of cortisol (commonly called the "stress hormone"), and changes in the regularity of heart rate per breathing cycle.[47] However, empirical data show that increased short- and long-term contact

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[47] *See* Jim Blascovich et al., *Perceiver Threat in Social Interactions With Stigmatized Others*, 80 J. Personality & Soc. Psychol. 253, 254 (2001); Elizabeth Page-Gould et al., *Intergroup Contact Facilitates Physiological Recovery Following Stressful Intergroup Interactions*, 46 J. Experimental Soc. Psychol. 854, 855 (2010).

with members from other groups ameliorates these stress responses.[48]

Research provides strong evidence that past experience with diverse groups of people, particularly through interracial contact, predicts faster and more efficient physiological regulation across various stress systems in the body. Previous interracial contact predicts better adaptive recovery from the body's autonomic nervous system (ANS) stress response, enabling a faster return to regular heart rate and a rapid decline in excess of cortisol.[49] A decline in cortisol indicates quicker neuroendocrine recovery, which is associated with psychological resilience and improved ability to thrive.[50] Exposure to diversity also helps regulate cardiovascular threat response, measured by vascular contractility and lowered circulatory resistance to blood flow.[51] For example, non-Black college students who have high levels of past interracial contact and who interact with a Black fellow

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[48] For an examination of the differences between intergroup "interaction" and intergroup "contact," *see* Cara C. MacInnis & Elizabeth Page-Gould, *How Can Intergroup Interaction Be Bad If Intergroup Contact Is Good? Exploring and Reconciling an Apparent Paradox in the Science of Intergroup Relations*, 10(3) Persp. on Psychol. Sci. 307, 308 (2015) ("interaction" refers to short stranger interactions between ingroup and outgroup members and "contact" refers to self-reported long-term contact with outgroup members).

[49] Page-Gould, *supra* note 47, at 854-56.

[50] *Id.*

[51] Blascovich, *supra* note 47, at 263.

student to perform a specific task show lower cardiovascular threat responses than college students with low levels of past interracial contact.[52] This physiological regulation facilitates intergroup interaction and adaptive coping with intergroup stress and improves long-term cardiovascular and psychological health, preventing chronic hypertension and increasing physical immunity and mental resilience.[53]

The physiological benefits of interracial interactions that occur in diverse settings are not just cumulative; they can appear in a matter of weeks or even days, which is critical for students who arrive at college with little or no previous interracial experience. A 2008 experiment with Latino and White participants at a selective public university found that students who were implicitly prejudiced or concerned about race-based rejection responded to their first interracial interaction with a heightened release of cortisol, which appeared in saliva within twenty minutes of first meeting the interaction partner.[54] This cortisol reactivity reaction significantly decreased over the course of only three interracial meetings.[55] These data suggest that interracial

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[52] *Id.*

[53] Page-Gould, *supra* note 47, at 855, 858.

[54] Elizabeth Page-Gould et al., *With a Little Help From My Cross-Group Friend: Reducing Anxiety in Intergroup Contexts Through Cross-Group Friendship*, 95 J. Personality & Soc. Psychol. 1080, 1085, 1089 (2008).

[55] *Id.* at 1089.

contact lowers stress responses "relatively early in the development of crossgroup friendship."[56] Thus, interracial interactions can produce short- and long-term physiological benefits to students by reducing stress and anxiety that can negatively impact academic performance.[57]

2. Diversity Reduces Prejudice and Bias.

In addition to improved physiological reactions and lower anxiety levels, social science research shows that interracial interactions reduce implicit and explicit prejudices in the development of interpersonal relationships. In 2012, researchers from Columbia, Stanford, and Tufts Universities released a study that examined over forty years of research on interracial interactions, compiling data from 81 different studies with an aggregate of 12,463 participants.[58] This meta-analysis[59] found that participants

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[56] *Id.* (finding also that, after their final cross-group meeting, "implicitly prejudiced participants sought out more intergroup interactions, and participants felt less anxious in the diverse university environment").

[57] Toni Schmader et al., *A Metacognitive Perspective on the Cognitive Deficits Experienced in Intellectually Threatening Environments*, 35 Personality & Soc. Psychol. Bull. 584, 585-95 (2009).

[58] Negin R. Toosi et al., *Dyadic Interracial Interactions: A Meta-Analysis*, 138 Psychol. Bull. 1, 6-7 (2012).

[59] "Meta-analyses" are "studies of studies" that pool statistical information from a diverse set of existing research studies to obtain the scientifically best estimate of a given

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engaging in interracial interactions report feeling more negative emotions (e.g., anxiety) than participants engaging in same-race interactions. Over time, however, repeated interracial interactions produced more positive emotional experiences comparable to those of participants engaging in same-race interactions.[60] Another post-*Grutter* meta-analysis of over 500 studies, including samples of college students, demonstrated that intergroup contact reduces prejudice and improves intergroup attitudes.[61] These analyses indicate that the benefits of interracial interaction emerge over time and help reduce bias, anxiety, and other negative emotional responses.

The benefits of diversity can begin to flourish even when an individual has only indirect contact with someone from a different identity group; an

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effect. Meta-analyses complement findings from any individual study by leveraging the magnitude and consistency of effects across a larger body of research to determine more estimates of influence. *See* Blair T. Johnson & Alice H. Eagly, *Meta-analysis of social-personality psychological research*, Handbook Methods in Social and Personality Psychology 677 (2d ed. 2014).

[60] Toosi, *supra* note 58, at 16, 18.

[61] *See* Thomas F. Pettigrew & Linda R. Tropp, *A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory*, 90 J. Personality & Soc. Psychol. 751 (2006); *see also* Thomas F. Pettigrew & Linda R. Tropp, *How does intergroup contact reduce prejudice? Meta-analytic tests of three mediators*, 38 Eur. J. of Soc. Psychol. 922 (2008) (building upon their meta-analysis of 515 intergroup studies from 2000 by adding 54 new studies between 2000-2005, scientists found that intergroup contact reduces prejudice largely through enhancing knowledge, reducing anxiety, and/or promoting empathy toward other groups).

individual's prejudice towards that group is reduced simply by virtue of extended contact through an ingroup mutual friend.[62] Empirical evidence demonstrates that "[e]xtended contact [is] associated with lower intergroup anxiety . . . which in turn [is] associated with more positive outgroup attitudes."[63]

A diverse student population provides a positive environment in which intergroup contact erodes one of the important bases of generalized prejudice and discrimination, social dominance orientation. Social dominance orientation ("SDO") measures an individual's preference for hierarchy within any social system and domination over lower-status groups.[64] Individuals and groups exhibiting a propensity for SDO will favor social practices that maintain or exacerbate inequality among groups and will oppose social practices that reduce group inequality.[65] The intergroup contact resulting from a diverse student population reduces SDO by counteracting student

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[62] Rhiannon N. Turner et al., *Reducing Explicit and Implicit Outgroup Prejudice Via Direct and Extended Contact: The Mediating Role of Self-Disclosure and Intergroup Anxiety*, 93 J. Personality & Soc. Psychol. 369, 384 (2007) (studying White and South Asian high school students).

[63] *Id.* at 377. Another study yielded similar findings with a larger independent sample. *See id.*

[64] Felicia Pratto et al., *Social dominance orientation: A personality variable predicting social and political attitudes*, 67 J. Personality and Soc. Psychol. 741, 743 (1994).

[65] *Id.* at 741-42.

prejudices.[66] Therefore, by engaging in interracial contact or having close friends who do, individuals experience less anxiety, increased empathy, reduced social dominance orientation, and lower levels of prejudice towards outgroup members.[67]

In a university setting, students who acquire more cross-group friends during their undergraduate years also demonstrate decreased prejudice.[68] One longitudinal study of 2,000 university students found interracial roommate pairings resulted in reductions in prejudice and increased "ethnic heterogeneity of [students'] friendship circle[s]."[69] Interracial roommate relationships are also "associated with increased interethnic competence [and] decreased interethnic unease."[70] A more recent study surveyed

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[66] Kristof Dhont et al., *Changing the ideological roots of prejudice: Longitudinal effects of ethnic intergroup contact on social dominance orientation*, 17 Group Processes & Intergroup Rel. 27, 28-29 (2013).

[67] In contrast, priming Whites with a colorblindness approach can cause them to act more prejudiced in interracial interactions. Encouraging multiculturalism instead of colorblindness produces more favorable ethnic minority outcomes in intergroup settings. Deborah Son Holoien & J. Nicole Shelton, *You deplete me: The cognitive costs of colorblindness on ethnic minorities*, 48 J. of Experimental Soc. Psychol. 562 (2012).

[68] *See* Colette Van Laar et al., *The effect of university roommate contact on ethnic attitudes and behavior*, 41 J. Experimental Soc. Psychol. 329, 330 (2005) ("[S]tudents with more outgroup friendships . . . during their second and third years of university showed less prejudice at the end of university. . . .").

[69] *Id.* at 338.

[70] *Id.* at 341.

the attitudes of White freshmen randomly assigned to Black roommates in college and found similar results after only a ten-week quarter, indicating that

> racial attitudes of White students in interracial rooms became more positive toward [Blacks], whereas the attitudes of White students in same-race rooms did not change. Participants in interracial rooms also reported decreased intergroup anxiety toward [Blacks] at the end of the quarter, whereas participants in same-race rooms did not exhibit [such] change.[71]

These studies show that White students' implicit racial attitudes improve while living with a Black roommate for a mere quarter term, underscoring the significance of interracial interactions in the college setting in reducing prejudice.[72] Because college is where many individuals experience their first meaningful and sustained contact with people of different races and backgrounds, these early interactions can influence how students will interact with others beyond the college setting.

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[71] Natalie J. Shook & Russell H. Fazio, *Interracial Roommate Relationships: An Experimental Field Test of the Contact Hypothesis*, 19 Psychol. Sci. 717, 721 (2008).

[72] *See also* Elizabeth Aries, Speaking of Race and Class 101-02 (Temple Univ. Press 2013) (common stereotypes held by many Black and White students decreased over the four years they spent at Amherst College).

3. Diversity Reduces the Racial Isolation or Solo Status of Underrepresented Students and Reduces the Effects of Stereotype Threat.

Diversity within the classroom also reduces "solo status," the isolation experienced by underrepresented students that adversely impacts classroom learning and performance.[73] While solo status can undermine the educational objectives of any student, it disproportionately impacts the classroom performance of students from historically stigmatized groups.[74]

Social science findings reveal that students experiencing solo status feel they are being seen as representatives of their racial group.[75] Solo status may also intensify students' collective self-construal – the degree to which their sense of self is tied to social

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[73] Denise Sekaquaptewa & Mischa Thompson, *The Differential Effects of Solo Status on Members of High- and Low-Status Groups*, 28 Personality & Soc. Psychol. Bull. 694, 694 (2002) (defining solo status as "being the only member of one's social category in an otherwise homogenous group").

[74] *Id.* at 703.

[75] *See* Linda R. Tropp et al., *The Use of Research in the Seattle and Jefferson County Desegregation Cases: Connecting Social Science and the Law*, 7 Analyses of Soc. Issues & Pub. Pol'y 93, 104 (2007) (finding that "when one's racial category is made salient due to its distinctiveness, members of racial minority groups are more likely to feel that they are being evaluated on the basis of that social category.").

group membership.[76] This increased race representativeness and collective self-construal among individuals experiencing solo status or racial isolation can derail performance.[77] However, increasing proportions of traditionally underrepresented racial groups "may diminish the salience of racial categories and ultimately enhance the potential for decreasing the perceived relevance of race within the intergroup context."[78] Thus, individuals from historically marginalized groups may positively respond to settings where "their race is perceived to be adequately or fairly represented."[79]

An "adequate representation" of historically marginalized groups is what UT intends to foster when it seeks to attain a "critical mass" of underrepresented minorities. Reducing feelings of racial isolation and alienation within its student body by admitting a critical mass of underrepresented minorities and increasing opportunities for diverse peer engagement is important to the overall educational climate of a university because "[s]tudents who feel confident in their belonging . . . may initiate more relationships and thus obtain more opportunities for

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[76] Denise Sekaquaptewa et al., *Solo Status and Self-Construal: Being Distinctive Influences Racial Self-Construal and Performance Apprehension in African American Women*, 13 Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychol. 321, 321 (2007).

[77] *Id.* at 322.

[78] *See* Tropp, *supra* note 75, at 104.

[79] *See* Sekaquaptewa, *supra* note 76, at 326.

belonging and growth."[80] Controverting isolation among students of color may be one of the most essential precursors to intergroup connectedness, thus making adequate representation a key component to successful diversity at UT.

In the absence of a sufficiently diverse environment, racial isolation or solo status and other forms of anxiety and awareness about the perceived performance capabilities of one's racial group can result in "stereotype threat." Stereotype threat refers to the disruptive apprehension that individuals feel when they fear their performance will confirm a salient negative stereotype about the intellectual ability and competence of their identity group.[81] This fear of confirming an underperformance stereotype has been found to impair intellectual performance and ability.[82]

Social science research has demonstrated that the academic performance of underrepresented students, including Blacks and Latinos, can be explained by stereotype threat.[83] Experiencing stereotype threat

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[80] *See* Gregory M. Walton & Geoffrey L. Cohen, *A Brief Social-Belonging Intervention Improves Academic and Health Outcomes of Minority Students*, 331 Science 1447, 1450 (2011).

[81] *See* Claude M. Steele & Joshua Aronson, *Stereotype Threat and the Intellectual Test Performance of African Americans*, 69 J. Personality & Soc. Psychol. 797, 797 (1995).

[82] *Id.* at 808.

[83] *See* Michael Inzlicht & Toni Schmader, *Stereotype Threat: Theory, Process, and Application* (Oxford Univ. Press 2012) (discussing research conducted over the last fifteen years).

can result in physiological changes in the body and brain, thus undermining academic performance expectations, increasing feelings of self-doubt, and generally reducing an individual's cognitive resources precisely when they are needed most.[84] Amici respectfully refer the Court to the Brief of Experimental Psychologists as *Amici Curiae* in Support of Respondents for specific research addressing the negative consequences and impairments caused by stereotype threat in more detail.[85]

Physiological reactions to stereotype threat can be mitigated when students have a strong sense of "social belonging," or have positive relationships with and connections to other people.[86] Academic and work environments that emphasize diversity to underrepresented students increase a sense of belonging and foster motivation to participate in those environments.

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[84] *See* Toni Schmader et al., *A Metacognitive Perspective on the Cognitive Deficits Experienced in Intellectually Threatening Environments*, 35 Personality & Soc. Psychol. Bull. 584, 585-95 (2009); *see also* Toni Schmader et al., *An Integrated Process Model of Stereotype Threat Effects on Performance*, 115 Psychol. Rev. 336, 342 (2008).

[85] Brief of Experimental Psychologists as *Amici Curiae* in Support of Respondents calendared for filing November 2, 2015 in this action.

[86] *See* Gregory M. Walton & Geoffrey L. Cohen, *A Question of Belonging: Race, Social Fit, and Achievement*, 92 J. Personality & Soc. Psychol. 82, 82 (2007).

B. Diverse Educational Environments Promote Better Problem-Solving and Academic Performance and Better Prepare Students to Navigate an Increasingly Diverse Society, Workforce, and Civic Life

1. Diversity Promotes Better Problem-Solving and Academic Performance.

In addition to decreasing racial isolation and stereotype threat, social science research shows that diversity promotes better problem-solving within groups and by individual group members. The success of diverse groups has been documented in a variety of arenas for nearly half a century.[87] This success is attributed to the benefit diversity confers upon group dynamics and individual intellectual development.

In a study comparing high-ability groups comprised of individuals who had earned the highest scores on aptitude tests and groups comprised of individuals from diverse backgrounds, researchers found that the diverse groups consistently outperformed the high-ability groups when asked to solve

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[87] *See, e.g.*, Eric Hsu et al., *Supporting High Achievement in Introductory Mathematics Courses: What We Have Learned from 30 Years of the Emerging Scholars Program*, Making the Connection: Research and Teaching in Undergraduate Mathematics 205, 206 (Marilyn P. Carlson & Chris Rasmussen ed., 2008).

complex problems.[88] This analysis indicated that "even if we were to accept the claim that IQ tests, Scholastic Aptitude Tests scores, and college grades predict individual problem-solving ability, they may not be as important in determining a person's potential contribution as a problem solver as would be measures of how differently that person thinks."[89] Diversity is an indispensable prerequisite to establishing the most productive problem-solving academic communities.

The capacity for diverse groups to outperform high-ability groups is derived from "collective intelligence" – a quality attributed to "the group itself, not just the individuals in it," that predicts the problem-solving ability of a group.[90] Through experimentation, researchers have discovered that collective intelligence not only exists, but is affected more by diversity than average intelligence of the individual group members.[91] A 2010 study identified a significant correlation between "average social sensitivity of group members" and collective intelligence of the groups.[92] Additional studies indicate that social

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[88] Lu Hong & Scott E. Page, *Groups of diverse problem solvers can outperform groups of high-ability problem solvers*, 101 Proc. Nat'l Acad. Sci. 16385 (2004).

[89] *Id.* at 16389.

[90] Anita W. Woolley et al., *Evidence for a Collective Intelligence Factor in the Performance of Human Groups*, 330 Science 686, 687 (2010).

[91] *Id.*

[92] *Id.* at 688.

sensitivity increases when individuals consider themselves a part of a diverse group and begin to empathize with different understandings and viewpoints.[93] Participation in diverse groups during college impacts the social sensitivity of individuals which, in turn, increases the collective intelligence of groups both in college and in the professional sphere.[94]

In addition to increasing the collective intelligence of groups, diversity also leads to an increase in the capabilities of individuals of all races. The Emerging Scholars Programs ("ESP") across the nation that focus on bringing underrepresented minority and White students together to participate in math workshops exemplify how group diversity contributes to the success of individuals.[95] Many studies show that students who participate in ESP workshops achieve higher grades in their math and science classes than those who do not.[96] When comparing the performance

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[93] *See* Marilynn B. Brewer & Wendi Gardner, *Who Is This "We"? Levels of Collective Identity and Self Representations*, 71 J. of Personality & Soc. Psychol. 83 (1996).

[94] *See id.*; *see also* Woolley, *supra* note 90, at 688.

[95] Hsu, *supra* note 87, at 208.

[96] *Id.*; *see* Susan E. Moreno et al., *Supporting Minority Mathematics Achievement: The Emerging Scholars Program at the University of Texas at Austin*, 5 J. of Women & Minorities in Sci. & Eng'g 53 (1999); *see also* Baine B. Alexander et al., *A Community Approach to Learning Calculus: Fostering Success for Underrepresented Ethnic Minorities in an Emerging Scholars Program*, 3 J. of Women & Minorities in Sci. & Eng'g 145 (1997).

of ESP students to non-ESP students, researchers considered only students with similar SAT scores to control for prior academic ability.[97] Researchers found that both White and minority ESP students performed higher than their peers who were not involved with the ESP.[98] The benefit of participating in a diverse group is therefore evidenced not only by the way the group itself solves problems, but also in how participants from all backgrounds perform outside of the group.[99] Research shows that by increasing diversity, universities can help their graduates enter society with better problem-solving capabilities than students who are not exposed to diversity.

Diversity is a valuable asset in academic institutions because of the benefit it provides to groups and individuals. Because college is a space in which problem-solving abilities should be cultivated, it is essential that colleges commit to increasing student body diversity.

2. Diversity Better Prepares Students for Life After College.

As Justice Powell observed in *Bakke*, "the 'nation's future depends upon leaders trained'" in diverse academic environments.[100] In an increasingly

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[97] Moreno, *supra* note 96, at 59.

[98] *Id.* at 60.

[99] *Id.*

[100] 438 U.S. at 313 (Opinion of Powell, J.) (citation omitted).

global society, being able to work easily with persons of other races, to develop the capacity to view problems from several multifaceted perspectives, and to be able to comfortably function in and understand America's complex social structure are all indispensable skills for navigating the modern business world and civic life. Currently, the majority of Texas college students come from segregated or hypersegregated communities and high schools.[101] Higher learning institutions such as UT provide many students with their first – and possibly only – realistic opportunity to develop these vital skills.

3. Success in Modern Professional Society Demands Cross-Cultural Competence and the Ability to View Problems From Multiple Perspectives – Skills Best Learned in Diverse Academic Environments.

Amici representing numerous top companies in the United States have touted the importance of cross-cultural competence of a business's workforce, and have briefed how diversity positively affects the productivity and profitability of companies.[102]

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[101] *See supra* § I.A.2.

[102] *See* Brief for General Motors Corp. as *Amici Curiae* Supporting Defendants-Appellants, *Grutter v. Bollinger*, 539 U.S. 306 (2003) (No. 01-1447); Brief for *Amici Curiae* Fortune-100 and Other Leading American Businesses in Support of Respondents, *Fisher v. Univ. of Tex. at Austin*, 133 S. Ct. 2411 (2013) (No. 11-345).

Cross-cultural competence refers to the ability to quickly understand and effectively navigate a culture different from one's own.[103] Companies agree that all professionals must possess cross-cultural competence to compete in a diverse global economy and succeed professionally:

> Diversity in academic institutions is essential to teaching students the human relations and analytic skills they need to thrive and lead in the work environments of the twenty-first century. These skills include the abilities to work well with colleagues and subordinates from diverse backgrounds; to view issues from multiple perspectives; and to anticipate and respond with sensitivity to the needs and cultural differences of highly diverse customers, colleagues, employee, and global business partners.[104]

Recent social science research also illustrates that diversity leads to increased innovation, as group members collaborate with one another more when

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[103] Allison Abbe et al., *Cross-Cultural Competence in Army Leaders: A Conceptual and Empirical Foundation*, U.S. Army Res. Inst. For the Behav. & Soc. Sci., Oct. 2007; Daniel P. McDonald et al., *Developing and Managing Cross-Cultural Competence within the Department of Defense: Recommendations for Learning and Assessment*, Oct. 3, 2008 (revised Oct. 27, 2008).

[104] *See* Brief for General Motors Corp. as *Amici Curiae* Supporting Defendants-Appellants, *supra* note 102, at 2.

they recognize that alternative perspectives exist, leading to novel insights and solutions.[105]

Current research provides compelling evidence that "even absent social interaction or exchange of information, mere awareness of a diverse group composition [is] sufficient to impact the cognitive tendencies" of White individuals, allowing for a more robust and productive decision-making environment.[106] As American companies have begun to seek out diversity for productivity and profitability, the ability to work within a diverse environment has become an increasingly important skill. Students who function within a complex diverse educational environment develop a deeper understanding of the social world, and develop the cultural-competence skills now necessary for professional success.

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[105] Katherine W. Phillips et al., *Surface-Level Diversity and Decision-Making in Groups: When Does Deep-Level Similarity Help?*, 9 Group Processes & Intergroup Rel. 467, 475-77 (2006) (finding that diverse groups spent more time discussing a certain task, which improved performance); *see also* Scott E. Page, The Difference 23, 47-50 (Princeton Univ. Press 2008) (explaining that introducing diverse perspectives creates new ways of organizing knowledge to find efficient solutions and mitigates inefficiencies attributable to groupthink).

[106] Samuel R. Sommers et al., *Cognitive effects of racial diversity: White individuals' information processing in heterogeneous groups*, 44 J. Experimental Soc. Psychol. 1129, 1134 (2008).

4. Experiences With Diversity in Higher Learning Environments Are Positively Associated With Greater Democracy Outcomes in Students and Continued Civic Engagement After Graduation.

General civic life, during and after college, also improves with diverse learning environments. Research has long shown that students with diverse college experiences are more willing to influence the political structure, help others in need, engage in community service, resolve conflict, and overcome social division.[107]

Studies measuring the effects of diversity on democracy outcomes show students in diverse learning environments have greater understanding that differences need not be divisive, are more skilled at perspective-taking, are able to perceive commonalities in values between their own and other groups, and show greater interest in politics, participation in campus politics, and commitment to civic participation after college. Further, these students more readily accept conflict as part of normal life.[108] For example, "students who reported frequent contact

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[107] *See* Patricia Gurin et al., *The Benefits of Diversity in Education for Democratic Citizenship*, 60 J. Soc. Issues 17, 31-32 (2004); *see also* Patricia Gurin et al., *Diversity and Higher Education: Theory and Impact on Educational Outcomes*, 74 Harv. Educ. Rev. 330, 347 (2002).

[108] Gurin, *supra* note 107, at 21.

with diverse peers displayed greater . . . self-confidence in cultural awareness, development of a pluralistic orientation, believe that conflict enhances democracy, and tend to vote in federal and state elections."[109]

Further research shows that attitudes formed during college are stable, persisting up to fifty years after graduation.[110] Thus, the social and civic benefits of diversity can extend to life after graduation, producing a more civically engaged population.

5. Institutions of Higher Learning Are Ideally Equipped to Provide the Exposure to Diversity, Development of Cross-Cultural Competence, and Critical Thinking Skills That Graduates Need to Thrive Professionally and Participate in a Plural Democracy.

Research shows that the college years are when a person's social identity is formed.[111] Further, peer interaction is recognized as the most influential source of change in college.[112] Universities are uniquely situated to provide genuine academic and social

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[109] Sylvia Hurtado, *The Next Generation of Diversity and Intergroup Relations Research*, 61 J. Soc. Issues 595, 601-05 (2005).

[110] Gurin, *supra* note 107, at 335.

[111] *Id.* at 334.

[112] *Id.* at 335.

interaction among students from different identity groups. Because of long-standing hypersegregation in Texas high schools, UT provides many students with their first opportunity to live with and learn from peers with different cultures, values, and experiences. Social science demonstrates that graduates need cross-cultural competence and critical thinking skills to thrive professionally and participate in a plural democracy. These invaluable skills are best learned through the combination of academic and social interaction that only a university with a richly diverse student body can provide.

Social science research demonstrates that diversity in higher education is critical to reducing negative physiological and psychological responses, improving academic performance, and better preparing our future leaders. An admissions policy that fails to consider race cannot ensure this diversity given the numerous compounded factors that disproportionately disadvantage Black and Latino students. Considering race within a broader, holistic admissions policy, therefore, remains the only effective and efficient way for UT to promote equal educational opportunity for all students and achieve UT's compelling interest in the many benefits of diversity in higher education.

CONCLUSION

Amici curiae urge the Court to affirm the judgment of the Court of Appeals.

Respectfully submitted,

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November 2015

Table 1: Texas Population Trends, 1990-2010

Census year	Whites		Blacks		Asians		Hispanics		Total
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	
1990	10,291,680	60.59%	2,021,632	11.90%	319,459	1.88%	4,339,905	25.55%	16,986,510
2000	10,933,313	52.43%	2,404,566	11.53%	562,319	2.70%	6,669,666	31.99%	20,851,820
2010	11,397,345	45.33%	2,979,598	11.85%	964,596	3.84%	9,460,921	37.62%	25,145,561

Sources: 1990 Census of Population and Housing Public Law 94-171 Data (Official) Age by Race and Hispanic Origin, http://censtats.census.gov/pl94/pl94.shtml (select "Texas" as Geographical Area) (data for 1990); Profile of General Demographic Characteristics: 2000, Table DP-1, American FactFinder: U.S. Census Bureau (data for 2000); *P5. Race For The Population 18 Years And Over*, Social Explorer Data Dictionary, http://www.socialexplorer.com/data/C2000/metadata/?ds=Summary+File+1&table=P005 (data for 2000); *P6. Hispanic Or Latino, And Not Hispanic Or Latino By Race For The Population 18 Years And Over*, Social Explorer Data Dictionary, https://www.socialexplorer.com/data/C2000/metadata/?ds=Summary+File+1&table=P006 (data for 2000); Profile of General Population and Housing Characteristics: 2010, Table DP-1, American FactFinder: U.S. Census Bureau (data for 2010); *P10. Race For The Population 18 Years And Over*, Social Explorer Data Dictionary, https://www.socialexplorer.com/data/C2010/metadata/?ds=SF1&table=P0100 (data for 2010); *P11. Hispanic Or Latino, And Not Hispanic Or Latino By Race For The Population 18 Years And Over*, Social Explorer Data Dictionary, https://www.socialexplorer.com/data/C2010/metadata/?ds=SF1&table=P0110 (data for 2010).

Table 2: Texas Population Trends, 1990-2010 (Under 18 Years of Age)

Census year	Whites		Blacks		Asians		Hispanics		Total
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	
1990	2,463,328	50.94%	657,862	13.60%	96,276	1.99%	1,620,319	33.51%	4,835,839
2000	2,507,147	42.59%	751,189	12.76%	142,308	2.42%	2,386,765	40.54%	5,886,759
2010	2,322,661	33.83%	855,675	12.46%	238,174	3.47%	3,317,777	48.32%	6,865,824

Sources: 1990 Census of Population and Housing Public Law 94-171 Data (Official) Age by Race and Hispanic Origin, http://censtats.census.gov/pl94/pl94.shtml (select "Texas" as Geographical Area) (data for 1990); Profile of General Demographic Characteristics: 2000, Table DP-1, American FactFinder: U.S. Census Bureau (data for 2000); *P5. Race For The Population 18 Years And Over*, Social Explorer Data Dictionary, http://www.socialexplorer.com/data/C2000/metadata/?ds=Summary+File+1&table=P005 (data for 2000); *P6. Hispanic Or Latino, And Not Hispanic Or Latino By Race For The Population 18 Years And Over*, Social Explorer Data Dictionary, https://www.socialexplorer.com/data/C2000/metadata/?ds=Summary+File+1&table=P006 (data for 2000); Profile of General Population and Housing Characteristics: 2010, Table DP-1, American FactFinder: U.S. Census Bureau (data for 2010); *P10. Race For The Population 18 Years And Over*, Social Explorer Data Dictionary, https://www.socialexplorer.com/data/C2010/metadata/?ds=SF1&table=P0100 (data for 2010); *P11. Hispanic Or Latino, And Not Hispanic Or Latino By Race For The Population 18 Years And Over*, Social Explorer Data Dictionary, https://www.socialexplorer.com/data/C2010/metadata/?ds=SF1&table=P0110 (data for 2010).

Table 3: UT Enrollment by Race, 1997-2014

Year	Whites		Blacks		Asians		Hispanics		Others		Total
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	
1997	4,771	66.84%	202	2.83%	1,163	16.29%	907	12.71%	95	1.33%	7,138
1998	4,399	65.25%	199	2.95%	1,133	16.81%	890	13.20%	121	1.79%	6,742
1999	4,447	63.20%	286	4.06%	1,220	17.34%	975	13.86%	108	1.53%	7,036
2000	4,800	62.47%	295	3.84%	1,325	17.24%	1,011	13.16%	253	3.29%	7,684
2001	4,438	60.60%	242	3.30%	1,415	19.32%	1,024	13.98%	204	2.79%	7,323
2002	4,879	61.62%	271	3.42%	1,469	18.55%	1,144	14.45%	155	1.96%	7,918
2003	3,868	59.18%	266	4.07%	1,165	17.82%	1,080	16.52%	157	2.40%	6,536
2004	3,899	57.49%	309	4.56%	1,244	18.34%	1,171	17.27%	159	2.34%	6,782
2005	3,795	55.54%	348	5.09%	1,217	17.81%	1,265	18.51%	208	3.04%	6,833
2006	4,028	54.36%	390	5.26%	1,386	18.70%	1,434	19.35%	172	2.32%	7,410
2007	3,830	51.51%	425	5.72%	1,536	20.66%	1,505	20.24%	139	1.87%	7,435
2008	3,510	52.40%	377	5.63%	1,298	19.38%	1,380	20.60%	133	1.99%	6,698
2009	3,702	51.12%	357	4.93%	1,480	20.44%	1,562	21.57%	141	1.95%	7,242
2010	3,462	47.60%	336	4.62%	1,328	18.26%	1,749	24.05%	398	5.47%	7,273
2011	3,429	48.01%	327	4.58%	1,407	19.70%	1,571	21.99%	409	5.73%	7,143
2012	3,687	45.57%	426	5.27%	1,584	19.58%	1,995	24.66%	398	4.92%	8,090
2013	3,310	45.74%	341	4.71%	1,524	21.06%	1,708	23.60%	353	4.88%	7,236
2014	3,268	44.89%	306	4.20%	1,752	24.07%	1,565	21.50%	389	5.34%	7,280

Sources: *Administrative College Application Data*, Texas Higher Education Opportunity Project (Dec. 18, 2008), http://theop.princeton.edu/admin/Admin_CollegeApplication_documentation.pdf (data for 1997); *First-time Undergraduate Applicant, Acceptance, and Enrollment Information*, Texas Higher Education Data (Oct. 20, 2015), http://www.txhighereddata.org/index.cfm?objectId=27282A55-A77E-2A0D-87B58BE320C6B099 (data for 1998-2014).

Figure 1

Demographic Change at UT and in Texas, 1990-2014

Source: Data for 1991-1997 – Texas Higher Education Opportunity Project, Office of Population Research, Princeton University; Data for 1998-2014 – Texas Higher Education Data (http://www.txhighereddata.org/)

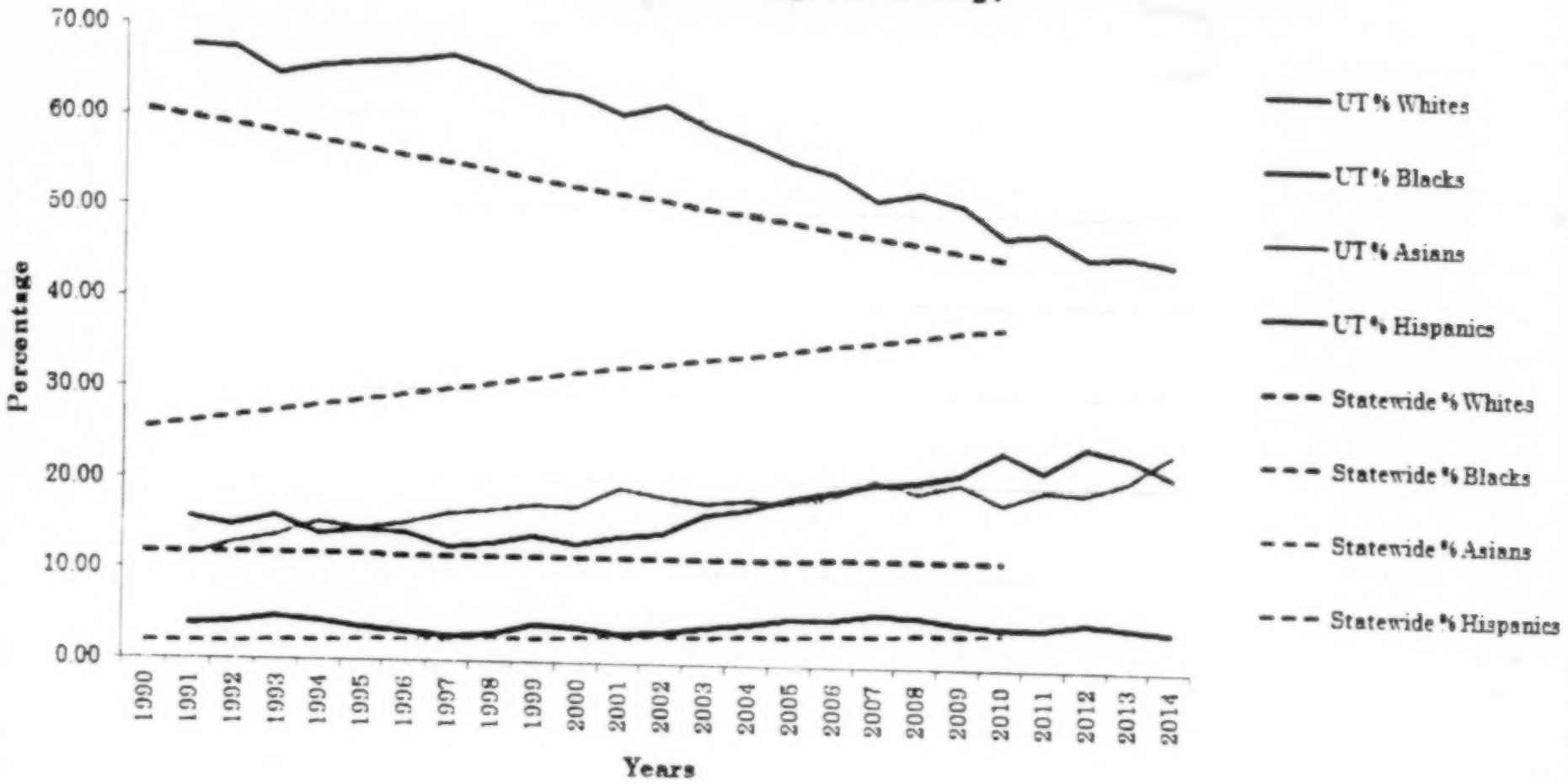


Figure 2

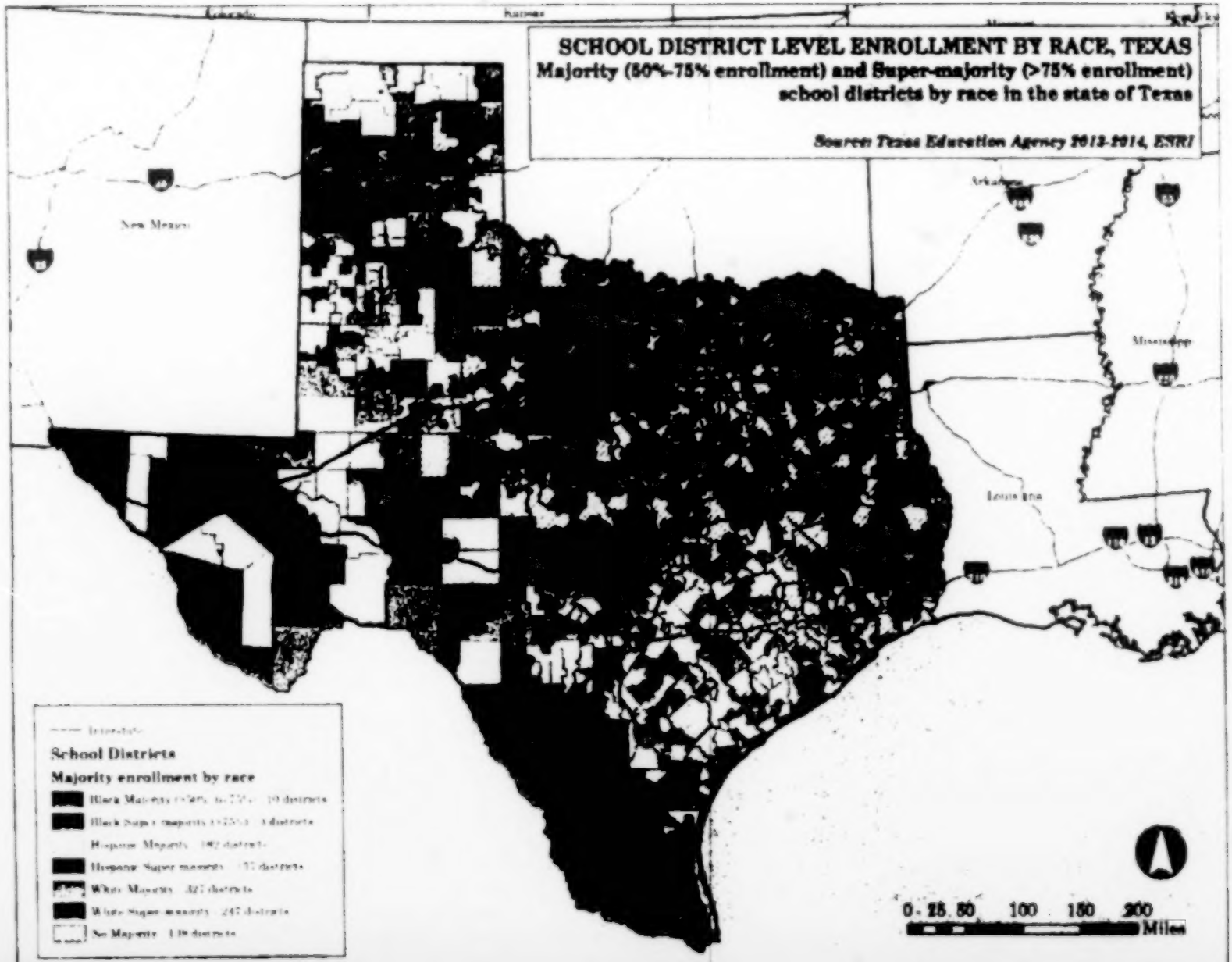

SCHOOL DISTRICT LEVEL ENROLLMENT BY RACE, TEXAS
Majority (50%-75% enrollment) and Super-majority (>75% enrollment) school districts by race in the state of Texas
Source: Texas Education Agency 2013-2014, ESRI
New Mexico
School Districts
Majority enrollment by race
0 25 50 100 150 200
Miles

Table 4: UT TTPP Enrollment by Race, 1997-2014

Year	Whites		Blacks		Asians		Hispanics		Others		Total
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	
1997	1,522	62.48%	49	2.01%	511	20.98%	344	14.12%	10	0.41%	2,436
1998	1,596	61.19%	68	2.61%	525	20.13%	407	15.59%	13	0.48%	2,608
1999	1,698	56.37%	161	5.34%	617	20.48%	518	17.20%	19	0.61%	3,013
2000	1,999	58.28%	156	4.55%	668	19.48%	590	17.19%	18	0.51%	3,430
2001	2,034	57.87%	140	3.97%	735	20.90%	577	16.41%	30	0.85%	3,514
2002	2,311	56.94%	159	3.91%	829	20.42%	706	17.39%	55	1.36%	4,058
2003	2,477	56.28%	195	4.42%	807	18.33%	858	19.50%	65	1.48%	4,401
2004	2,364	54.29%	227	5.21%	815	18.72%	904	20.76%	44	1.01%	4,354
2005	2,387	52.93%	254	5.63%	813	18.03%	987	21.88%	69	1.53%	4,510
2006	2,637	52.22%	270	5.35%	1,000	19.80%	1,098	21.74%	45	0.89%	5,050
2007	2,473	49.24%	283	5.64%	1,080	21.51%	1,155	23.00%	31	0.62%	5,022
2008	2,392	48.84%	284	5.80%	1,045	21.34%	1,132	23.11%	45	0.92%	4,898
2009	2,598	47.51%	283	5.18%	1,178	21.54%	1,358	24.84%	51	0.93%	5,468
2010	2,333	43.31%	260	4.83%	1,051	19.51%	1,513	28.09%	230	4.27%	5,387
2011	2,111	42.92%	244	4.96%	1,063	21.61%	1,316	26.75%	185	3.76%	4,919
2012	2,247	40.28%	308	5.52%	1,204	21.58%	1,627	29.16%	193	3.46%	5,579
2013	2,156	40.76%	255	4.82%	1,212	22.91%	1,487	28.11%	180	3.40%	5,290
2014	1,919	39.53%	212	4.37%	1,270	26.16%	1,274	26.25%	179	3.69%	4,854

Sources: *Administrative College Application Data*, Texas Higher Education Opportunity Project (Dec. 18, 2008), http://theop.princeton.edu/admin/Admin_CollegeApplication_documentation.pdf (data for 1997); *First-time Undergraduate Applicant, Acceptance, and Enrollment Information*, Texas Higher Education Data (Oct. 20, 2015), http://www.txhighereddata.org/index.cfm?objectId=27282A55-A77E-2A0D-87B58BE320C6B099 (data for 1998-2014).

Table 5: UT Holistic Admissions by Race, 2003-2014

Year	Whites	Blacks	Asians	Hispanics	Others	Total
2003	1,387	71	354	217	99	2,128
2004	1,535	82	429	267	115	2,428
2005	1,408	94	404	278	139	2,323
2006	1,391	120	386	336	127	2,360
2007	1,357	142	456	350	108	2,413
2008	1,118	93	253	248	88	1,800
2009	1,104	74	302	204	90	1,774
2010	1,129	76	277	236	168	1,886
2011	1,318	83	344	255	224	2,224
2012	1,440	118	380	368	205	2,511
2013	1,154	86	312	221	173	1,946
2014	1,349	94	482	291	210	2,426

Source: *First-time Undergraduate Applicant, Acceptance, and Enrollment Information*, Texas Higher Education Data (Oct. 20, 2015), http://www.txhighereddata.org/index.cfm?objectId=27282A55-A77E-2A0D-87B58BE320C6B099.

APPENDIX: LIST OF *AMICI CURIAE*[1]

Dr. Modupe Akinola is an Assistant Professor of Management at Columbia Business School at Columbia University. Dr. Akinola examines the effects of stress on intergroup interactions and performance. She also explores the biases that affect the recruitment and retention of minorities in organizations.

Dr. Elizabeth Aries is the Clarence Francis 1910 Professor in Social Sciences (Psychology) at Amherst College. She is the author of *Race and Class Matters at an Elite College* (Temple University Press, 2008), and *Speaking of Race and Class: The Student Experience at an Elite College*, with Richard Berman (Temple University Press, 2013). Her research focuses on the race and class-based challenges faced by black and white college students from different social class backgrounds, and the learning that accrues from being part of a diverse student body.

Dr. Laura Babbitt is a social psychologist and researcher at Tufts University. Her research has examined the psychological factors that influence interracial interaction outcomes, making use of both experimental and meta-analytic techniques. Her current research investigates intergroup dynamics in apparel factories, in connection with the International Labor Organization.

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[1] Affiliations are listed for identification purposes only. *Amici* submit this brief in their individual capacities alone, and not on behalf of any institution or organization.

Dr. Michael Bader is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at American University. He studies how patterns of racial segregation have changed since the passage of Civil Rights legislation in the 1960s. He examines the causes of ongoing racial and economic segregation in American metropolitan areas and the consequences of segregation on racial and economic inequality in health.

Dr. Hilary B. Bergsieker is an Assistant Professor of Psychology at the University of Waterloo. Her research examines stereotyping, prejudice, and interpersonal dynamics of interracial interactions, with a focus on distrust and asymmetric experiences between racial groups.

Dr. Wendy Berry Mendes is the Sarlo/Ekman Professor of Human Emotion in the Department of Psychiatry at University of California, San Francisco. Her expertise is in the area of neurobiological responses stemming from intergroup anxiety and stereotype threat.

Dr. Courtney Bonam is an Assistant Professor of Psychology at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Dr. Bonam examines racial stereotyping and how individuals make racially biased decisions even when they do not intend to harm people. Her work shows that physical spaces – including schools and universities – become imbued with racial meaning and suggests stereotypes about places can perpetuate racial inequality (e.g., in wealth, health, and educational opportunity).

Dr. Camille Z. Charles is the Edmund J. and Louise W. Kahn Term Professor in the Social Sciences, and Professor of Sociology, Africana Studies, and Education at the University of Pennsylvania. Her areas of expertise are in the areas of racial inequality, intergroup relations, and racial identity.

Dr. Noé Rubén Chávez is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Center of Community Alliance for Research and Education (CCARE) within City of Hope, an NCI designated comprehensive cancer center. Dr. Chávez is a trained community psychologist with a focus on adolescent empowerment, ethnic/racial identity development, prevention, and health/educational equity. He applies a community-participatory approach to engage the talents and perspective of underserved communities to improve science. He is currently collaborating with a coalition of multi-sectorial partners, with support from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and Institute for Healthcare Improvement, to empower ethnic minority youth to become leaders in improving the education and health of their communities.

Dr. Sapna Cheryan is an Associate Professor of Psychology at the University of Washington. Her research interests include identity, stereotypes, and prejudice. Dr. Cheryan has received numerous awards for her research, including the National Science Foundation CAREER Award and the American Psychological Association Dissertation Research Award.

Dr. Nilanjana Dasgupta is a Professor of Psychology and Director of Faculty Equity & Inclusion at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. She is a social psychologist whose research focuses on biases in implicit attitudes and beliefs; how implicit bias affects judgments and behavior toward others and the self; and social contexts that change implicit bias. She applies her work to education, organizations, and legal theories of discrimination. She is a fellow of the Society for Experimental Social Psychology and the Association of Psychological Science, and is the recipient of the Hidden Bias Research Prize and Morton Deutsch Prize from the International Society for Justice Research. Dr. Dasgupta has received numerous grants from the National Science Foundation including the prestigious NSF CAREER award, and the National Institutes of Health. She currently serves on the National Science Foundation's Advisory Committee for Social, Behavioral, and Economic Sciences and is the President Elect of the Society for Experimental Social Psychology.

Dr. Wendi Gardner is an Associate Professor of Psychology at Northwestern University. Her expertise is in the area of social definitions of the self/social identities as well as how individuals cope with social exclusion.

Dr. Allen Hart is the James E. Ostendarp Professor of Psychology at Amherst College. Dr. Hart's research explores the role of interpersonal expectations in guiding human behavior. To that end, an important theme has been to understand the basic processes of

interpersonal expectations informed by how real people make decisions and judgments about real people. His research investigates issues related to judicial behavior, jury decision-making, and neural correlates of stereotyping and prejudice.

Dr. Deborah S. Holoien is an Assistant Professor of Psychology at Amherst College. Dr. Holoien conducts experimental research on the antecedents, moderating factors, and consequences of achieving (or failing to achieve) understanding in interracial interactions and relationships.

Dr. Cheryl Kaiser is an Associate Professor in the Department of Psychology at the University of Washington, where she directs the Social Identity Laboratory. Her research interests include psychological aspects of prejudice, identity, and diversity, and the intersection of these topics with law and policy. She is a fellow of the Society for Experimental Social Psychology, the Society of Personality and Social Psychology, and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, as well as the recipient of the Sage Young Scholars Award, the James McKeen Cattell Sabbatical Award, and the Gordon Allport Intergroup Relations Prize. She is the recipient of numerous grants from the National Institute of Mental Health, the National Science Foundation, and the Russell Sage Foundation. She currently serves as Associate Editor at *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*.

Dr. Eden King is an Associate Professor of Industrial-Organizational Psychology at George Mason University. Her research uncovers barriers to workplace equality and evaluates relevant remediation strategies.

Dr. Neneh Kowai-Bell is a social psychologist and is a Professor at Houston Community College. Dr. Kowai-Bell is interested in intergroup relations, social issues, and fostering effective learning environments.

Dr. Eric D. Knowles is an Associate Professor of Psychology at New York University. His research focuses on intergroup relations, racial inequality, and the origins of people's social policy attitudes.

Dr. Rodolfo Mendoza-Denton is a Richard and Rhoda Goldman Professor of Psychology at the University of California, Berkeley. His research focuses on intergroup relations and the negative impact of stigmatization and lack of inclusion on minority students' educational outcomes.

Dr. Jason Okonofua is a social psychologist in the Psychology Department at Stanford University. Dr. Okonofua is interested in how the effects of one person's stereotyping and another person's threat reverberate and escalate over time. He currently researches this interest in the context of education and criminal justice. He asks how stereotypes about stigmatized children can shape how they interact with teachers, administrators, and police officers. Dr.

Okonofua's work is situated to inform psychological theory, field experimentation, and public policy.

Dr. Elizabeth Page-Gould is the Canada Research Chair in Social Psychophysiology and an Associate Professor of Psychology at the University of Toronto. Dr. Page-Gould's research has primarily taken an experimental and longitudinal approach to understand the role that cross-ethnic friendship and daily interracial interaction plays in psychological and physiological thriving in diverse contexts.

Dr. Devah Pager is a Professor of Sociology and Public Policy at Harvard University and the Kenneth and Susan Wallach Professor at the Radcliffe Institute. Professor Pager's research focuses on the costs and consequences of racial discrimination. Using a series of field experiments, Professor Pager has documented large and persistent forms of discrimination facing minority job seekers. Her current research investigates the feedback effects of discrimination for job seekers, as individuals adapt or distort their search behaviors in response to discrimination.

Dr. Adam Pearson is an Assistant Professor of Psychology at Pomona College and on the Graduate Faculty in Behavioral and Organizational Sciences at Claremont Graduate University. He is the recipient of the Morton Deutsch Award from the International Society for Justice Research. His research explores how people navigate diverse environments, with a particular focus on understanding how nonconscious

biases impact communication, perception, motivation, and nonverbal behavior.

Dr. Katherine W. Phillips is the Paul Calello Professor of Leadership and Ethics in the Management Division at Columbia Business School at Columbia University. Dr. Phillips has published numerous papers on the effects of diversity on work team process and performance, including empirical work on how diversity increases cognitive processing of information and motivation.

Dr. Victoria C. Plaut is a Professor of Law and Social Science and Affiliated Psychology Faculty at the University of California, Berkeley. Dr. Plaut has conducted extensive empirical research on diversity and intergroup relations, including research on the experiences of inclusion and psychological engagement of both majority and underrepresented students and employees.

Dr. Jennifer A. Richeson is the John D. & Catherine T. MacArthur Professor of Psychology at Northwestern University, where she is also a Faculty Fellow at the Institute for Policy Research and Professor of African American Studies. She received a Sc.B from Brown University, and a MA and Ph.D. in social psychology from Harvard University. Professor Richeson's research examines psychological phenomena related to cultural diversity. Her work generally considers the ways in which socio-cultural group memberships such as race, gender, and socioeconomic status shape the way people think, feel, and

behave, especially during interactions with members of different socio-cultural groups.

Dr. Denise Sekaquaptewa is a Professor and Associate Chair of Psychology, and Associate Director of the UM ADVANCE Program, at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Dr. Sekaquaptewa's research focuses on stereotyping, stereotype threat, solo status, and their effects on test performance and academic motivation.

Dr. Stacey Sinclair is an Associate Professor of Psychology and African American Studies at Princeton University. Her research examines how interpersonal interactions amongst Whites serve as a vehicle by which anti-Black prejudice and stereotypes are transmitted and acted upon as well as how such interactions can be used to reduce prejudice.

Dr. Samuel R. Sommers is an Associate Professor of Psychology at Tufts University. An experimental social psychologist, Dr. Sommers' research examines issues related to stereotyping, prejudice, and group diversity. His scholarly work focuses on two often overlapping topics: race and social perception, judgment, and interaction; and the intersection of psychology and law.

Dr. Sarah S. M. Townsend is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Management and Organization at the University of Southern California Marshall School of Business. Her research examines psychological and physiological responses to being the target of prejudice and discrimination, and the factors that

enable people to most effectively cope when they encounter such attitudes and treatment.

Dr. Nellie Tran is a community psychologist and Assistant Professor of Counseling & School Psychology at San Diego State University. Dr. Tran's research focuses primarily on subtle forms of discrimination within the educational setting and its impact on the women and students of color's psychological wellness, academic performance, and the broader setting climate.

Dr. Linda R. Tropp is Professor of Social Psychology in the Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. Her research concerns how members of different groups approach and experience contact with each other, and how group differences in status affect cross-group relations. A Fellow of the American Psychological Association, the Society of Experimental Social Psychology, and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, she is co-author of "*When Groups Meet: The Dynamics of Intergroup Contact*" (2011), editor of the "*Oxford Handbook of Intergroup Conflict*" (2012), and co-editor of "*Moving Beyond Prejudice Reduction: Pathways to Positive Intergroup Relations*" (2011).

Dr. Clara L. Wilkins is an Assistant Professor of Psychology at Wesleyan University. Her research examines prejudice, stereotyping, and intergroup relations. She is particularly interested in understanding the causes and consequences of perceptions of bias against high-status groups.

Dr. Anita Williams Woolley is an organizational psychologist and an Associate Professor of Organizational Behavior and Theory at the Tepper School of Business at Carnegie Mellon University. Dr. Woolley has published numerous papers in the area of team collaboration and collective intelligence, and she has investigated the features of groups, including their cognitive diversity and gender composition, which consistently lead to higher levels of performance, creativity and learning.

Dr. Miguel Unzueta is an Associate Professor of Management and Organizations at the UCLA Anderson School of Management. Dr. Unzueta's research explores how people understand their position within social and interpersonal hierarchies and the impact this understanding has on their perceptions of self, others, and group-based inequality. His latest research explores the manner in which people define diversity and the impact that particular diversity definitions have on the representation of racial minorities in organizations.